

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 IO-13

DPW-01 SR-02 ORM-03 AID-20 RSR-01 /117 W

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R 101032Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9979

INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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E.O. 11652 N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PK, IN, BG

SUB: BHUTTO SPEECH TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON BANGLADESH RECOGNITION.

REF: ISLAMABAD 5522

1. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF PRESIDENT BHUTTO'S ADDRESS
TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY EVENING JULY 9 IN SUPPORT OF
RESOLUTION APPROVING RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH BY GOP
WHEN IT FINDS SUCH RECOGNITION IN NATIONAL INTEREST.
(TEXT OF RESOLUTION AND DESCRIPTION ASSEMBLY ACTION
REPORTED SEPTELS).

2. PRESIDENT OPENED BY IDENTIFYING A "DURABLE PEACE
IN THE SUBCONTINENT" AS ALL-IMPORTANT GOAL OF HIS
GOVERNMENT. AFTER 1971 WAR, HE NOTED, TWO COURSES WERE
OPEN TO GOP. "WE COULD EITHER PARADE OUR WOUNDS, WALLOW
IN MORBIDITY AND DREAM OF REVANCHIST POLICIES WHICH
WOULD PROVE UTTERLY FUTILE OR, AS A SPIRITED AND HEALTHY
PEOPLE, WE COULD ATTEND TO OUR RECONSTRUCTION, ESTABLISH
NORMAL RELATIONS WITH OUR NEIGHBORS, BREAK OUR ISOLATION
FROM THOSE WHO WERE OUR COMPATRIOTS AND SO STRENGTHEN
OURSELVES POLITICALLY, SOCIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY". GOP, HE
SAID, CHOSE LATTER COURSE.

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3. BHUTTO THEN REVIEWED INITIATIVES HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN TOWARD PEACE SINCE 1971 WAR, FROM RELEASE OF MUJIB TO CONVENING OF SIMLA CONFERENCE. HE OBSERVED THAT PAKISTANIS HAD LEFT SIMLA IN STATE OF MIXED HOPE AND APPREHENSION. "THE APPREHENSION EXISTED BECAUSE OF OUR EXPERIENCE OF A QUARTER CENTURY. IT IS NOT AGREEMENTS WHICH MATTER SO MUCH AS THE WILL AND THE ATTITUDE BEHIND THEM. PEACE IS UNATTAINABLE WITHOUT MUTUAL GOODWILL.. THE FIRST ESSENTIAL IN THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS IS A CONSTANCY OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES". SUMMARIZING DEVELOPMENTS SUBSEQUENT TO SIMLA, PRESIDENT NOTED THAT POW ISSUE EMERGED AS BIGGEST OBSTACLE TO NORMALIZATION.

4. APRIL 17 DECLARATION FROM DELHI " HAD MANY IMPLICATIONS WHICH REQUIRED CLARIFICATION", PRESIDENT CONTINUED. IN PARTICULAR, IT REQUIRED PAKISTAN TO AGREE TO WAR CRIMES TRIALS OF POWS, "A CONDITION WE COULD NOT POSSIBLY ACCEPT". QUESTION WAS NOT ONLY ONE OF LEGAL COMPETENCE BUT OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND WHETHER PARTIES CONCERNED WISHED TO PROLONG THEIR DISPUTE OR WORK TOWARD RECONCILIATION. "HOW CAN ANYONE DENY THAT ENORMOUS WRONGS WERE COMMITTED ON ALL SIDES IN THE TRAGIC CONFLICT OF 1971? WERE WE TO EMBARK ON THEIR EXAMINATION IN A REVANCHIST SPIRIT, BITTERNESS WOULD SWEEP THE WHOLE AREA AND WOUNDS WOULD BE RE-OPENED WHICH WE WANT TO HEAL. I HAVE SAID PLAINLY THAT, IF THESE TRIALS ARE HELD IN DACCA, AN IRREPARABLE DAMAGE WILL BE CAUSED TO THE FABRIC OF PEACE WHICH, NO ONE CAN DENY, IS STILL FRAGILE".

5. PRESIDENT THEN REVIEWED GOP STAND ON QUESTION OF TRANSFERRING OF BIHARIS TO PAKISTAN, NOTING THAT "THIS IS A MATTER WHICH REQUIRES CAREFUL EXAMINATION IN A HUMANE SPIRIT". " I WOULD NOT FORECLOSE ANY WORKABLE SOLUTION", HE SAID, "BUT NO SOLUTION WILL BE WORKABLE IF IT DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE PHYSICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES FOR THE LIFE AND FUTURE FOR THE HUMAN BEINGS INVOLVED... I CANNOT AGREE TO A SIMPLISTIC AND SLOGANIZED APPROACH" TO THIS ISSUE. PRESIDENT SAW NO PROBLEM WHATSOEVER IN REPATRIATION OF BENGALIS IN PAKISTAN. HE DECLARED THAT "IT HAS YIELDED US NO HAPPINESS THAT

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WE WERE FORCED TO RESTRICT THEIR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT UNTIL THE DAY THEIR REPATRIATION COULD TAKE PLACE IN AN ORDERLY MANNER".

6. GOP RESPONSE TO APRIL 17 STATEMENT WAS TO SUGGEST INDO-PAK DIALOGUE, PRESIDENT CONTINUED. ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN ACHIEVING PEACE MUST BE CLARIFICATION OF GOP ATTITUDE TOWARD FORMER EAST PAKISTAN. "IT CANNOT BUT BE A PAINFUL DECISION FOR ANYONE IN PAKISTAN TO ACCEPT IT AS A SEPARATE

ENTITY", PRESIDENT DECLARED. YET "WE CANNOT INTERFERE IN THE AFFAIRS OF THOSE WHO CONSTITUTED THE MAJORITY OF PAKISTAN FAR LESS TRY TO IMPOSE OUR WILL ON THEM.. WE MUST SHOW THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE CHANGED REALITIES OF 1971". PRESIDENT THEREFORE WANTED ASSEMBLY TO AUTHORIZE HIM TO RECOGNIZE BANGLADESH "AT A TIME WHICH THE GOVERNMENT MAY CONSIDER APPROPRIATE".

7. PRESENT TIME WAS NOT APPROPRIATE, PRESIDENT SAID, WITH POWS STILL IN CAPTIVITY AND TALKS OF TRIALS IN DACCA. GOP WAS, HOWEVER, PREPARED TO ATTEMPT UNFREEZE THE SITUATION. "WE ARE PREPARED TO COOPERATE IN ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE REPATRIATION OF ALL THE BENGALLEES WHO WISH TO LEAVE PAKISTAN, ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS REGARDING THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO ALLEVIATE THE PLIGHT OF THE MINORITIES IN BANGLADESH AND EXTEND RECOGNITION TO BANGLADESH". ALL THAT WAS REQUIRED FROM OTHER SIDE WAS COMPLIANCE WITH GENEVA CONVENTIONS AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 307 AND ABANDONMENT OF WAR CRIMES TRIALS.

8. "PEACE CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED BY ANY EVASION OF REALITIES", PRESIDENT SAID. WITH REGARD BANGLADESH, "THE PRIMARY REALITY FOR US IS THE EXISTENCE OF A LARGE MUSLIM NATIONAL COMMUNITY COMBINED WITH US UNDER SINGLE SOVEREIGNTY BUT WHICH HAS ESTABLISHED ITS OWN STATEHOOD

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NOW. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH CANNOT BUT BE GOVERNED BY THE SPIRIT OF MUTUAL FORGIVENESS AND UNDERSTANDING WHICH IS OF THE ESSENCE OF ISLAMIC TRADITIONS... WHICH WILL PREVAIL OVER THE RANCOUR AND HATE.. WHICH DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS OF BOTH COMMUNITIES EQUALLY DEPLORE". FOR THIS TO OCCUR, CONTACT MUST BE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THEM.

9. PRESIDENT OBSERVED THAT RECOGNITION WOULD ORDINARILY BE SOLELY AN EXECUTIVE RESPONSIBILITY BUT, IN VIEW EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES, GOP HAD DETERMINED OBTAIN BOTH ASSEMBLY APPROVAL AND SUPREME COURT OPINION.

10. TURNING AGAIN TO QUESTION OF NEGOTIATIONS, BHUTTO STRESSED THAT GOP COULD NOT AGREE TO "HUMILIATING TERMS". OR TO ACCEPTANCE OF "INDIA'S DOMINANCE IN SOUTH ASIA." AT SAME TIME, GOP WAS CONVINCED THAT "A FAIR, HONORABLE LASTING PEACE IN THE SUBCONTINENT" WAS ESSENTIAL TO ALL. MOST ESPECIALLY, PEACE WAS NECESSARY FOR THE POOR PEOPLE OF THE SUBCONTINENT AND FOR THE YOUTH, WHO "HAVE NOT KNOWN THE PLENITUDE OF PROGRESS WHICH ONLY REAL PEACE CAN INSURE". PRESIDENT PLEDGED THAT GOP WOULD DO WHATEVER IT COULD TO BRING ABOUT PEACE IN SUBCONTINENT WITHOUT ABDICATING PAKISTAN'S RIGHTS AND INTERESTS. "IT IS UNCLASSIFIED

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MY HOPE", HE SAID, "THAT BOTH INDIA AND BANGLADESH WILL RECIPROCATATE THIS SPIRIT OF OURS. IF THEY DO, THEY WILL RESPOND TO THE CALL OF THE CONTEMPORARY AGE. IT IS AN AGE OF DETENTE AND RECONCILIATION, NOT OF BELLIGERENCY AND STRIFE. IT IS AN AGE WHEN THE NEW GENERATION ALL OVER THE WORLD HAS REJECTED THE PHILOSOPHIES OF HATE. THOSE WHO FOUGHT EACH OTHER AT STALINGRAD ARE NOW ENGAGED IN DIALOGUE OF PEACE. THOSE WHO CONSIDERED EACH OTHER'S IDEOLOGY ANATHEMA ARE NOW RESOLVED TO PURSUE THE PATHS OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND MUTUAL NON-INTERFERENCE. SURELY, WHAT DIVIDES INDIA AND PAKISTAN IS NOT SOMETHING MORE THAN WHAT DIVIDED THE SOVIET UNION AND GERMANY OR THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION OR CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES. SURELY, AN ANTAGONISM BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA IS NOT INHERENT IN THEIR VERY EXISTENCE. I SAY TO MY PEOPLE AS I WOULD SAY TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA: DO NOT BE SWORN TO ETERNAL HOSITILITY AGAINST EACH OTHER, IF YOU DO, ONLY YOUR COMMON ENEMY, WHICH IS SQUALOR AND POVERTY, WILL TRIUMPH. IT IS TIME FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE SUBCONTINENT TO MOUNT A CHALLENGE AND GIVE BATTLE TO THAT REAL FOE."

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